

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 236571

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POLITICAL ANALYSIS: NORTH VIETNAM'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY  
CELEBRATION

1. ON SEPTEMBER 2 THE ENTIRE POLITBURO TURNED OUT IN  
HANOI BEFORE "THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE" AND "A JUNGLE OF FLAGS  
FLUTTERING" TO MARK THE DRV'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY. THE  
FOREIGN GUESTS INCLUDED PRINCE SIHANOUK OF CAMBODIA AND  
PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG OF LAOS; A CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE  
SOVIET POLITBURO, MIKHAIL SOLOMENTSEV; A FULL MEMBER OF THE  
CHINESE POLITBURO, CH'EN HSI-LIEN; AND THE FRENCH MINISTER  
OF EDUCATION, RENE HABY. AS USUAL, PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG  
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PAGE 02 STATE 236571

DELIVERED THE PRINCIPAL ADDRESS. HIS AND OTHER STATEMENTS

TOUCHED ON A NUMBER OF MAJOR POLICY ISSUES.

2. THE ECONOMY: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS NOW THE PRIORITY  
OBJECTIVE FOR ALL VIETNAM, THE PREMIER EMPHASIZED THAT

THE NATION MUST SHIFT ITS EMPHASIS FROM "COMBAT" TO  
PRODUCTION. SIMILARLY, THE PARTY PAPER NHAN DAN ANNOUNCED  
THAT "THE CENTRAL SLOGAN FOR ACTION" WAS "ALL FOR PRODUC-  
TION TO BUILD SOCIALISM SUCCESSFULLY."

3. THE SOUTH: LAWLESSNESS, DISSIDENCE, INEFFECTIVE  
GOVERNMENT, AND UNEMPLOYMENT TROUBLE THE SOUTH. REFLECTING  
CONCERN IN DRV MEDIA SINCE THE FALL OF SAIGON, DONG WARNED  
"WE MUST . . RAPIDLY STABILIZE ORDER, CONSOLIDATE POLITICAL  
SECURITY, AND STREAMLINE THE REVOLUTIONARY ADMINISTRATION  
EVERYWHERE " HE FURTHER OBSERVED THE NEED TO "PROVIDE  
JOBS FOR SEVERAL MILLION UNEMPLOYED." NATIONAL LIBERATION  
FRONT CHAIRMAN NGUYEN HUU THO CALLED FOR PUNISHMENT OF  
SPECULATORS, HOARDERS, "STUBBORN THUGS AND REVOLUTION-  
ARIES," WHEN DELIVERING THE KEYNOTE SPEECH IN SAIGON  
HONORING THE ANNIVERSARY.

4 UNIFICATION: THE DRV IS DETERMINED TO ATTAIN TOTAL  
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF THE COUNTRY BUT IS  
UNSURE HOW TO PROCEED IN THE FACE OF THE "VERY GRAVE  
AFTERMATHS OF WAR" IN THE SOUTH. ALTHOUGH DONG AND THO  
STRESSED THE NEED TO "BUILD SOCIALISM" IN THE SOUTH AND  
ADVANCE TOWARD COMPLETE UNIFICATION, NEITHER OFFERED ANY  
SCHEDULE OR CONCRETE PROGRAMS TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS. AT  
THE SAME TIME, BOTH MEN SHOWED NO DOUBT THAT HANOI COULD  
MAINTAIN ORDER. WITH MANY DIVISIONS IN THE SOUTH, THE  
COMMUNISTS CAN CLEARLY COUNTER ANY MAJOR THREAT TO  
INTERNAL SECURITY, DESPITE SOME PERSISTING DEFIANCE OF  
LAW AND AUTHORITY.

5. THE PRG: THE PRG REMAINS A USEFUL DEVICE FOR HANOI,  
PARTICULARLY ABROAD. IN A UNIQUE STATEMENT FOR A NORTH  
VIETNAMESE OFFICIAL, DONG SAID "SAIGON" WOULD "HAVE A VERY  
IMPORTANT POSITION IN MANY FIELDS" AND "DEVELOP FOREIGN  
RELATIONS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES AND THE REST OF  
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PAGE 03 STATE 236571

THE WORLD;" THE PREMIER PROBABLY BELIEVES THAT FOR THE  
TIME BEING SEPARATE DRV AND PRG DIPLOMATIC PRESENCES OFFER  
THE ADVANTAGES OF TWO VOTES IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS, AS  
WELL AS INCREASED POSSIBILITIES FOR TRADE AND AID.

6. CAMBODIA AND LAOS: NORTH VIETNAM CONTINUES TO CONSIDER  
THAT IT HAS SPECIAL, PROPRIETARY INTERESTS IN CAMBODIA AND  
LAOS. DONG CALLED FOR "STRENGTHENING THE MULTI-FACETED

RELATIONS WHICH HAVE INCREASINGLY TIED OUR COUNTRY TO OUR TWO BROTHERLY NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES." THO MADE THE STANDARD APPEAL FOR "MILITANT SOLIDARITY AMONG THE VIETNAMESE, CAMBODIAN, AND LAO NATIONS."

7. SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE DRV SEEKS A POSITION OF PREEMINENT REGIONAL INFLUENCE. NHAN DAN REITERATED THAT VIETNAM WOULD BECOME AN "INVIOLABLE BASTION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA." HANOI HOPES TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL PRIMARILY THROUGH STATE-TO-STATE DIPLOMACY BUT WILL CONTINUE SOME SUPPORT TO INSURGENT MOVEMENTS; THUS THE PREMIER SAID, "WE DESIRE MULTIFARIOUS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES" AND AFFIRMED THAT TIES WITH ALL NATIONS SHOULD BE BASED ON "NONINTERVENTION IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS." NEVERTHELESS, HE REPEATED THE RITUALISTIC INJUNCTION TO "DULY CONTRIBUTE TO THE WORLD REVOLUTION."

8. RUSSIA AND CHINA: HANOI IS STILL FIRMLY COMMITTED TO STEERING A MIDDLE COURSE BETWEEN MOSCOW AND PEKING, DESPITE MISGIVINGS ABOUT CHINESE RIVALRY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. DONG AND THO OFFERED STANDARD THANKS TO THE SOVIETS AND CHINESE, AS DID DRV DEFENSE MINISTER VO NGUYEN GIAP WHEN READING THE "ORDER OF THE DAY." MOREOVER, PARTY FIRST SECRETARY LE DUAN PROMPTLY RECEIVED BOTH SOLOMENTSEV AND CH'EN.

9. THE UNITED STATES: NORTH VIETNAM WOULD ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES UNDER TERMS INCLUDING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. ACCORDING TO DONG, THE DRV REMAINS "READY TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES ON THE BASIS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT." (ARTICLE 21 SAYS WASHINGTON WILL CONTRIBUTE TO POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION.) THE PREMIER MADE NO REFERENCE TO SUCH OUTSTANDING BILATERAL QUESTIONS AS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CAPTURED AND MISSING AMERICANS.

10. THE LEADERSHIP: THE TOP PARTY FIGURES REMAIN THE SAME. DRV MEDIA LISTED THE POLITBURO IN NORMAL RANK ORDER (LE DUAN FOLLOWED BY TRUONG CHINH, PHAM VAN DONG, PHAM HUNG, VO NGUYEN GIAP, LE DUC THO, NGUYEN DUY TRINH, LE THANH NGHI, HAONG VAN HOAN, TRAN QUOC HOAN, AND VAN TIEN DUNG). DONG BEGAN HIS SPEECH BY HAILING "RESPECTED COMRADE LE DUAN."

11. AS "SECRETARY FOR THE SOUTH VIETNAM PARTY ORGANIZATION," FOURTH-RANKING PHAM HUNG ENJOYS A PARTICULARLY PRESTIGIOUS POSITION THAT MAY SERVE TO AUGMENT HIS POWER IN THE HIERARCHY. THE ANNIVERSARY WAS HIS FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE IN HANOI SINCE 1967, AND DRV MEDIA GENERALLY LISTED HUNG

SEPARATELY FROM THE OTHER POLITBURO MEMBERS AS HEAD OF THE SOUTHERN DELEGATION ATTENDING THE CEREMONIES. IN CONTRAST, PRG FOREIGN MINISTER NGUYEN THI BINH WAS RANKED BEHIND SUCH LUMINARIES AS THE BUDDHIST AND MONTAGNARD REPRESENTATIVES ON THE NLF CENTRAL COMMITTEE. KISSINGER

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